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ABSTRACT

This collection includes three perspectives on "full service schools" and "school linked services." The first paper, "Schools and Social Change" by (Joan Kirner), highlights the role of Full Service Schools in Australia in recreating a sense of community in the face of global change and global decisions. This paper outlines the prerequisites for educational change. The second paper, "Linking Services, School Reform, and Community Development" by (Dev Mukerjee), suggests that a full service school approach should join school reform, interagency collaboration, and community development to reduce educational disadvantage. The third perspective, "Full Service Schooling for Full Citizenship from Theory to Practice" by (Robert Semmens and Helen Stokes), explains how Full Service Schools can be introduced in ways that enable students to become active and independent citizens. Each paper contains references. (SLD)

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Thinking About Full Service Schools No. 1

Three perspectives on
schools, communities
and citizenship



Australian Centre for Equity through Education

Linking education, health and community services
to challenge educational and social inequalities

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Who we are

The Australian Centre for Equity through Education (ACEE) was established in 1994 as an initiative of the Australian Youth Foundation (AYF), through a consortium of organisations: Eduquate; the Australian Council of State School Organisations; the Australian Education Union; and the Australian Council of Social Service.

The Centre is the focal point for a unique network of people working in education, health and community service agencies.

Why we exist

Young people today are growing up in an increasingly complex world where a smooth transition from school to work is by no means assured. In particular geographic areas across Australia poor educational outcomes coincide with unemployment, low income and poor health.

600,000 Australian children live below the poverty line and in any one week 11,000 school students are numbered among the homeless. The primary schools and high schools these children and young people attend work within social and economic environments that constrain and add to the complexity of their education task.

It has become increasingly clear to schools and school communities that the social and health problems their students and their families face can only be dealt with by cooperation and collaboration across education, health, and community services.

ACEE was established to advocate, foster, and promote this collaboration.

**Thinking About Full Service Schools
No. 1**

**Three perspectives on
schools, communities
and citizenship**

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Foreword

Naming a set of ideas as complex as those encompassed by the terms 'full service schools' or 'school linked services' is fraught with difficulties.

First, whether to invent a new name or to work with words that already have some currency. ACEE chose to do the latter and settled on full service schools.

More perplexing is how the concept should be described. To describe a 'model' when the idea implies different responses to different school and community circumstances would be inappropriate. On the other hand to suggest that anything goes and that there are no common principles or purposes would be to ignore the common concerns that have attracted interest in the concept from people across the education, health and community service sectors.

A growing number of projects, programs, and activities aimed at improving outcomes from education for disadvantaged young people are involving collaborative work across traditional sectors. They provide evidence of a developing movement towards full service schools. They also provide evidence of a commitment to making the connections between schools and other human services, necessary to enable young people to participate fully in their schools and their communities.

'Thinking about Full Service Schools' will be produced as a series of papers to provide a further contribution to ongoing discussion and debate. Some will be written for the series others reprinted with the permission of the authors.

The first in the series includes three perspectives:

The paper by **Joan Kirner** highlights the role of Full Service Schools in re-creating a sense of community in the face of global change and global decisions. She suggests that it is possible to question the direction our society is heading and outlines the prerequisites for change.

In the second paper **Dev Mukherjee** puts the ACEE view that a 'full service school' approach should bring together three significant movements: school reform, interagency collaboration, and community development. He argues that the combination of these separate elements creates an effect, greater than the sum of the parts, that has the potential to make a significant contribution to breaking the cycle of educational disadvantage.

The third paper is by **Robert Semmens** and **Helen Stokes**, of the Youth Research Centre at the University of Melbourne. They explain how Full Service Schools can be introduced in ways which enable students to become active and independent citizens through participation in health and welfare programs. They address the issue of how integration of services can contribute to a more positive sense of community membership in the longer term. They describe strategies aimed at empowering young people and their families to move from being passive recipients of services to participants in the creation of dynamic communities.

• • •

Schools and Social Change

Joan Kirner

Social Change

"Three unsettling autumn days in San Francisco, late September 1995: The world's power elite - 500 leading politicians, CEOs and academics - discuss the 21st century behind closed doors. The world-shapers' assessment is devastating. In the future, only a fifth of the world's labor force will be needed. The overwhelming remainder, 80% must be humoured with "tittytainment", a mix of entertainment and nourishment from the breasts of the productive minority.

With alarming speed, the hitherto wealthy nations are nearing this frightening vision. In Germany alone, more than 6 million able-bodied citizens can find no steady, paid work. No job appears to be safe any more; along with the factory workers at VW, Philips and Olivetti, millions of European engineers, bank employees, post office workers and even computer specialists now fear for their jobs. Everywhere one can hear the complaint: China, India and the eastern European nations are, with their rock-bottom wages, the new competitors in the global market, they now set the standards.

The force of Globalisation makes the world one, but at the same time this one world is collapsing. Like 21st century anarchists, managers of multi-national and billion dollar investment funds checkmate the nation-states. At the same time, politicians push forward even faster with deregulation, yet consider themselves - as do the business leaders - mere gears in the brutal global dynamic. The result is ever more government cutbacks and mass lay-offs. Lands such as Brazil are becoming a model for the world: The rich hide in ghettos, the rest of the population fears for its existence.

The tempo of Globalisation is overtaxing everyone. Insecure citizens seek their salvation by fencing out and splitting off. The flee from the ice-cold efficiency race to the supposed warmth of modern radical seducers from Scientology to Ross Perot.

For a while now, millions of insecure feeling middle-class citizens have been seeking their salvation in xenophobia, separatism, and rejection of the global market. Those who have been fenced out are resounding by fencing out others."

Martin and Schumann (1997)

Not a pretty picture, but given the last twelve months in Australia, an accurate one.

Programs like Full Service Schools are trying to break those fences down, to re-create community in the face of global change and global decisions. I say this not to put people off action, but to emphasise that change has to be at a number of levels.

Calling a Halt

I do not believe that the assault on democracy and prosperity just described is the result of unstoppable technological and economic progress. It is not an unmanageable juggernaut. It is a result of a small but powerful group of people making decisions on harnessing technological and economic change for the benefit of the twenty not the eighty. There are alternatives. Other decisions can be made.

The work of the "European Economic Union" in Ireland which has rejuvenated education and employment in that country is evidence that global change can be harnessed for community benefit, if economic and social justice, individual and community benefit are seen as complementary rather than as opposites.

To embrace alternatives politicians, business, industry and community in countries across the world need to:

- re-start the conversation on what kind of society we want; and
- re-state the primacy of politics over the economy.

What Kind of Society

Jeff Faux, President of the Economic Policy Institute in Washington wrote recently that:

"The central fact is that living standards cannot be maintained in a de-regulated privatised domestic economy under increasing pressure from an unregulated global market-place.

The continued deterioration of economic opportunities for the majority of Americans who work for a living is inevitable: but it also offers an opportunity for some new left thinking.

We need to produce a new social contract that integrates our concern for social equity and environmental society with majority demands for economic justice.

We must insist that the market should be constrained by economic rights and citizenship obligations."

He suggests we need a new social contract which ensures that each citizen has:

- a right to a job that pays a living wage and an obligation to work/contribute;
- a right to share in social wealth and an obligation to invest in a sustainable future;
- a right to profit from business and an obligation to contribute to more productive workplaces; and
- a right to protection against unemployment, sickness, poverty and an obligation to contribute to taxes to enjoy that protection.

In Australia, there are (or were) hundreds and thousands of fantastic initiatives in health, education, Aboriginal affairs, community services and they are making a difference. Practitioners and communities do not lack ideas, knowledge, expertise or committed people. What is lacking is a national commitment, a genuine commitment to debate the underlying questions: the way our society is and should be structured and the way real issues of democracy, equity, security, race and gender that should infuse the debate.

Whose Debate

If we want our society to be more equitable and democratic, we must challenge the prevailing norms of government decision-making - the free reign of the free market and the disposal and decline of public assets and public ownership. In particular we have to challenge the conversion of the citizen to the consumer.

Like David Selbourne in an article in the *Australian*, "Let's not abandon civil society" (September 17, 1996), I'm disconcerted by the view that these days we have "stakeholders" not citizens. Stakeholders who

are seen not as civic persons, but as consumers, "for he or she will only do certain things if you give them a stake". In contrast, in Selbourne's and my view, citizens already have a stake. It is called citizenship, even if some of us choose not to know it, to devalue it or to neglect its duties.

Selbourne concludes:

"The greatest threat to our liberties lies not in the supposed denial or disappearance of our rights – a mere fantasy – but in our failure to fulfil our civic and social duties to ourselves and to others. Yet as the civic order comes under greater stress, ideas directed to the rediscovery and strengthening of our common ties are making their own advance".

The great strength of Full Service Schools is just that: they are strengthening our common ties.

Every long term successful government and community program that I have been involved in creating e.g. Landcare, has adopted operational principles which strengthen common ties:

- Relationships between Government, Department, business, Union and citizen are based on mutual respect and benefit;
- There is collaboration on decisions between all interested parties;
- There is active redress of disadvantage and discrimination;
- The community is empowered; and
- Accountability is shared.

Despite the ever tightening strait-jacket of the free-market right across the public, private and community sector, workers and agencies are rediscovering the central importance of collaboration and cooperation in both revitalising communities and providing quality services. And they are discovering and demonstrating that you can not re-create community from the top. You have to do it from the bottom up – with all that means in community tension, healthy dialogue, reorganisation of resources, clearly defined rights and shared ownership.

In my role as Chair of ACEE, I have been fascinated by the plethora of programs developing around the country on school and community links. These programs can start from different inspirations and with different expectations, discipline and personnel. Housing people naturally start by seeing housing as an appropriate beginning as in the Waterloo Neighbourhood Improvement Program of the NSW Government. Education people naturally start with schools as in the recently funded ACEE projects. Health people start with health schemes based on removing individual health barriers or based on health promotion.

What is essential for success is that we are clear about both the conceptual and practical framework:

- Learning needs to change;
- power structures need to be shared; and
- services need to be integrated.

Importantly, whether it is in schools, health or housing we do have to be careful that people don't think that we are simply talking about add ons. We've done enough adding on to the work of schools; pupil welfare coordinators, parent liaison, literacy aids. While these are of great assistance they don't necessarily contribute to building a community where all children benefit from the education being offered.

Prerequisites for change

1. First we need to listen to communities and learn.

Let me tell you a story called "A Simple Fable for a Complex Problem". It comes from the Foreword to *Reinventing Human Resources: Community and Family Centred Practice* by Paul Adams and Kristine Nelson (Eds).

A Simple Fable for a Complex Problem

Once upon a time, in a better world, people knew their reality. A table was called a table, a house a house. Poverty was poverty, and lack of food, hunger. People, rich and poor, knew their reality because they heard everyone else using the same words.

As in all worlds, there were people who were poor and some who could not cope. Family, neighbours and churches pitched in and tried to help. But with time, the number of the needy grew and exhausted the resources of their helpers. So some people studied to become helpers.

As history evolved, a number of the helpers began to notice that the poor did not always improve with help, and sometimes they got worse. Some helpers began to notice that the procedures implemented by the multiple agencies that work with the poor were contradictory. They began to write alternative ways of working.

To start, these new helpers accepted their own ignorance. This posture gave them the freedom to ask questions. Since the client populations were poor people, the wisely ignorant practitioners began to ask the poor people questions about ways of helping. From the start, these helpers had what previous helpers had not had – the capacity for curiosity.

From this discovery, it followed as day follows night that other sources of help must be explored. Besides the professionals, they had to expand to include natural helping resources: extended family, neighbours, church, school – the old collection of do-gooders that naturally connect the family to the community. Instead of a pyramid of power flowing from top to bottom, they had to create a mesa. Instead of a collection of agencies peddling their wares ("I deal with learning disorders!" "My specialty is child abuse!"), they had to map a family's needs with the family and match them with the services.

Once the helpers were able to listen, how did they match the helpers to the needs? That's what Reinventing Human Services is all about. Adams and Nelson et al are championing a diversity of new approaches that are comprehensive, family centred, citizen directed, and focused on accessing the resources of the family in the community. But it is a difficult task, and most services to the poor are still managed by bureaucracies concerned with organisational survival, who keep traditional services functioning and separate."

Minuchin (1995)

2. We must not be marginalised.

The fable reminds us that we must be clear about where we stand in practice as well as policy and then insist on our share of power in negotiating changes in policy and practice. Insistence requires bravery – it requires a sense of future, a sense of social justice.

The challenge for those of us who believe in social justice is that we can be marginalised because we hold different views about the way the world should be going to the views of those currently in power. Often we are only seen as dealing with people at risk rather than the education and health of the whole community. We must not allow ourselves to be marginalised. What we are doing here is not marginal it's mainstream change. We put our changes at risk by concentrating only on those at risk.

We need to say:

"Hey! Those of us who believe in social and economic justice, are still here. We can and will argue all these issues. We are not stuck in the past. We can deliver in different ways, but we will continue to argue on the same social justice precepts and demand better equity outcomes."

Slowly but surely people are realising that there is a breakdown in both community cohesion and delivery of human services. They are looking for answers. The easiest answer is to pull back to core services, individualise the service then blame the victim if they don't take what they're offered. But that won't work. It will result in greater alienation and greater disintegration.

3. We must build on what works.

We don't have to re-invent the wheel in individual interventions or in community development in health or education. What we need to do is to build on what works in both approaches and build that into curriculum and community activities.

That is what we did with Landcare:

In 1985, as Minister for Conservation, Forests and Lands, I was faced with a multi-million dollar land degradation problem. Government money was being given to a few "experts" to help a few farmers make some changes. It just didn't work - so we applied the same process we're talking about here - clear purpose, participation and integrated services. In particular we forged a strong partnership with the Farmers Federation and with conservation agencies and local government. We turned government decision-making around on its head and empowered people on the ground to make changes.

We started with 20 projects and now there are 2000 projects as part of a Landcare Movement across Australia. Then we linked our program changes into system change. It's taken ten years - but that is the time we are probably looking at for real system change.

4. We need an effective communication strategy.

We have a concept of what good schools, good housing, good services are about but to a large number of people a good school, a good housing area, a good service is not an inclusive service, it is simply one that services their child well. Somehow these people have to be convinced that three things go together: a good individual service, an inclusive service, and a productive and cohesive community. It is a very important issue.

The economic rationalist and the "individual achievers" have won the public agenda and we have to win it back. There's no point in just providing the concept and the program we also have to have the argument and the communication.

5. We need a more radical agenda.

Today we are setting up an agenda which repositions government and community to propose, debate and politicise an alternative to the unfettered free market ideology. An ideology which feeds on the "I'm alright Jack" individualisation of an uncertain community.

After we lost government in Victoria, I had a bad habit of listening to talk back radio. I listened constantly to how Jeff Kennett was fixing up Victoria by getting us to accept the nasty medicine of public sector cuts. Then, one morning, a country woman rang to passionately argue the case for saving the local bush hospital - "part of the core of her community", she said.

As I anticipated, the talk back program presenter said:

"I understand your concern but can the economy afford it?"

And to my great joy she replied, quick as a flash:

"We live in a society Ranald, not just an economy".

That is the principal belief that must underpin all initiatives.

6. We need a collaborative framework

Most Territory, State and Federal Governments have now adopted a competitive model. To be successful in Full Service Schools it is necessary to roll the model back to a collaborative participating model.

7. We need examples of good local practice

The Australian Centre for Equity through Education (ACEE) has received funding from the Australian Youth Foundation to undertake a one year program to foster innovative school community link projects at sites in Sydney, Launceston, Melbourne, and country New South Wales.

The program's objectives are:

- To establish equality of access, opportunity and outcomes for all students;
- To move towards the development of a school community in which education, health, and community service resources work together for all students and their families;
- To draw upon the recent experiences of teachers, parents, students, researchers, welfare and community service providers to develop new modes of school community service collaboration that will utilise sources from the education health and welfare sectors; and
- To engage practitioners and academic colleagues in a co-research process that will rigorously evaluate new models of school community service collaboration.

Funds and support are available to sites to engage students, their parents and the community in identifying the conditions that enhance or deter successful learning outcomes and to address those conditions by working collaboratively with school systems and community agencies. Three key principles will underpin the operation of the five projects.

1. The control of projects from their development phase onwards must be in the hands of the school and its community;
2. Young people, generally students, must be involved in all decisions; and
3. The project will affect the organisation and curriculum of the school.

Examples of local programs include:

- **Launceston College, Tasmania**

Launceston College is a large senior college located in the centre of Launceston. Its students are drawn from surrounding areas some on site and some by distance education as well as a growing number of overseas students both exchange and fee paying. Staff includes a full time social worker and full time youth worker and plans are underway to co-locate other youth services and health services on campus.

In the words of the Deputy Principal:

"...for young people to take advantage of such programs, we need to acknowledge the current realities of their lives. This means ensuring the co-ordinated provision of social supports and services on campus and within our neighbourhood. If we turn a blind eye to their housing needs, family stability, poverty levels, health, legal misdemeanours, penal record, long term unemployment, part time work commitments, rurality, ethnic background, patterns of drug use, etc, etc with the argument that it is their private business, then we should not be surprised if our attrition rate remains high or grows even higher...."

- **Cleveland St High School, Sydney**

This school is situated in an area at the edge of the Sydney central business district. It includes a public housing community of approximately 2000 people, it is characterised by high rise flats built in the 1970s, high unemployment, a significant and fairly concentrated Aboriginal population.

Waterloo is one of the areas in which Neighbourhood Improvement Programs are being developed by the NSW Department of Housing. The aims of that Program include: creating safer, cohesive, and supportive communities with potentially reduced reliance on social security; developing a sense of community pride, and reducing violence and crime.

The core of the program is a local community advisory board consisting mainly of public housing tenants and the Department of Housing, but with the attendance and support of Department of Community Services, Police, Mental health, and local church and community organisations.

Redfern Primary School is the site of an extremely successful Inter-agency Community centres Pilot Program, jointly funded by Health, Education, and Community Services.

Both of these projects impinge on Cleveland Street High School which serves a diverse community including a significant number of Aboriginal students. Cleveland Street is keen to work with both the Inter-agency and Housing programs to develop better links with community agencies, employers and the feeder primary schools.

- **Dareton Community, rural New South Wales**

Dareton is situated in the Wentworth district of the New South Wales southern Riverina. The small Dareton primary school feeds into Coomeala High which serves the Wentworth District. Both schools are classified as "hard to staff" isolated area schools.

The Aboriginal communities around Dareton and across the border towards Mildura are treated as fringe dwellers. To counter this, an Aboriginal Community Art centre has been established. The project has been extremely successful and is now extending into the secondary school in an attempt to encourage young people to stay on at school by building on their success in the arts.

The community arts program has the potential but not the capacity to build closer links between the school, the community, the arts centre and the Aboriginal health service - a full service type approach but with its centre in the arts rather than health or education.

At Dareton our project will provide an Aboriginal arts/school liaison officer and mentor. The focus would be to rebuild the self esteem based on respect for culture, tackle health barriers, and thereby improve learning outcomes for young Aboriginal people.

8. We need to build our policies and programs on the reality of what is happening in our schools and society.

Conclusion

This paper has taken you through global change, national policy debates, collaborative frameworks and local practice. It finishes with the inspiration of Lillian Holt, former Principal of the Aboriginal Community College in Adelaide when talking to a Committee considering how to celebrate the Centenary of Federation. Lillian said:

"Talking about racism is not about being anti-white it is about being pro-humanity. What Australians need to understand is that what diminishes me as a black woman diminishes all Australians: black and white."

In health, in education, in community services we will have achieved our aims when we can describe all our policy, actions, and services as being pro-humanity.

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Linking services, school reform, and community development

Dev Mukherjee

The pace of educational reform initiatives has quickened dramatically in the past few years. Many of these initiatives have been dictated by government, business and elite groups and are part of a concerted effort to reform the public sector in the name of an improved 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness'. The two latter terms are cashed out most commonly using business models and terminology. The result has been the application of terms such as 'corporate managerialism' and 'economic rationalism' to a variety of reform initiatives focused on 'competition' for and 'consumer choice' between resources.

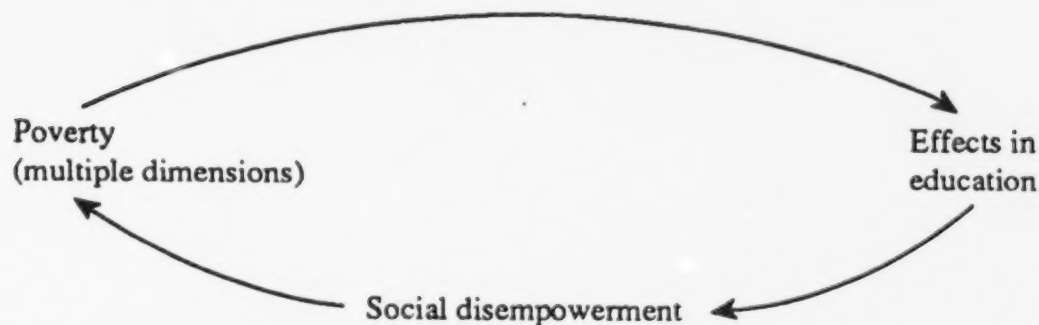
A clear contrast is with the development of the concept of 'Full Service Schools'. This concept arises from the activities and ideas of teachers, parents, students and community groups. The content of the concept draws from a broad set of reform agendas focused on improving the educational outcomes of those who are failed by the structure of the present system. It is based on principles of cooperation, collaboration, participation, equity and equality, *rather* than those of competition, core business, and simple (even simplistic) notions of choice. At its core is a recognition of the structural inequalities produced and reproduced (intentionally or not) by our social and economic system.

Educational, Social and Economic Inequality

It is incontrovertible fact that our educational systems privilege some groups over others. Students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and Indigenous young people in particular, are likely to have lower literacy levels in the primary school years, lower retention rates in the post-compulsory school years, lower school completion rates, and lower rates of entry into and participation in higher education (Masters and Foster 1997, Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs 1997, and Williams *et al* 1993). The evidence for these differences in educational outcomes is extensive and compelling (see Mukherjee 1995, 1996).

Education is essential to the achievement of economic and social advancement and to entry into the higher status and income occupations. A lack of education limits such opportunities leading to lower status and income occupations and to longer periods of unemployment than may otherwise have been the case. Education can thus be viewed as a 'positional good', "seen to provide students with relative advantage in the social competition for income and social-occupational status" (Marginson 1997: xiv).

Our educational systems reinforce economic and social inequality - the children of the already advantaged are advantaged further by it. Connell *et al* (1991) have presented a simple schema that illustrates the role of education in the reproduction of poverty and hence of social and economic inequality.



(From Connell *et al* 1991: p26)

Unless students from low socioeconomic backgrounds can be shown to be *less able* than their more economically advantaged colleagues, the reasons for the inequality in educational *outcomes* lies, in part or whole, *within* the institutions of education. Connell and White (1989: p110) articulate this point, claiming that:

"The mainstream education system's academic curriculum, its system of competitive assessment, and the way schools and colleges stream, select and narrow their offerings, all work to produce social inequalities and disadvantage the children of the poor."

Educational advantage and disadvantage should, we argue, be seen as a relationship that embraces the whole education system (See Connell, 1995). In a reciprocal fashion, the factors that disadvantage one group, advantage another.

While the focus on educational inequality has been on 'in-school' factors, teachers can easily cite numerous causes located outside the school that have had, and have now, a profound impact upon learning. Differences in economic circumstances are just one of these causes and need to be recognised as a significant factor in the production and reproduction of inequality. Surveying five hundred Smith Family clients aged 13 to 16 years, Orr (1994) showed clearly that the educational experience of the children of poor parents is qualitatively different to that of the children of more affluent parents *even within the same school*. The survey found that around twenty-five percent of these children had missed out on school excursions and special events and twelve percent were forced to take cheaper subject options (Orr 1994). It should not be thought that such deprivation is educationally insignificant. Such excursions, events and options are, and should be, regarded as educationally significant, central and crucial.

Teachers, particularly those in schools serving low socioeconomic communities, are confronted every day with the effects of poverty and family disruption. Schools do not have the resources and, more often than not, teachers do not have the training to deal with the complex social and health problems that students bring to school. Sue Doran (1995: p8), a primary school principal, told of a typical incident in her school at the opening symposium of the ACEE:

"In a two bedroom flat in inner western Sydney there is a stove that rests on an upturned Department of Education garbage bin named 'Do the Right Thing'. Sharing space with this endlessly active stove are 12 human beings: Mum, Dad and ten children, the eldest of whom is 12; the three youngest (triplets) are 6 months old. 7 of the 10 kids are playing around school 'til dark. Mum came down to see me one morning distressed that she had beaten the eldest child upon whom she relies. When she further indicated that she had no money, had been beaten herself, was concerned for her own health but forbidden from visiting the doctor by her husband and had received notice of eviction from the flat, we both cried and went home together to try to

soothe and support the family. Then I began the all too frequent search amongst the bureaucratic tangle of potential but understaffed support services. Later that same week one of the teachers found the 6 year old collecting food scraps from the school bins after school."

This incident reflects, at the very least, the general finding that low income groups tend to have poorer health and a higher incidence of common diseases (Boss, Edwards & Pitman 1995: p98). It would not be an overstatement to claim that these things impact, and impact often severely on the ability to learn.

Connell *et al*'s schema indicates several points at which the cyclic reproduction of poverty and educational underachievement may be broken. In order to do so we need to change the role of education within the cycle; to take actions that reduce poverty and disadvantage; and, to develop processes that will enhance social empowerment. At a national conference on Full Service Schools hosted by the ACEE, Pat Thomson (1997) asked "What is the problem for which this program [Full Service Schools] might be an answer?" The answer: Full Service Schools seek to break the relationship between social and economic background and educational underachievement. Full Service Schools seek to do this by changing the nature of schools by integrating and combining them with external support agencies through processes of community development and empowerment.

Changing Education and School Reform

Education can and does play a role in reproducing inequality. It can also, however, be used to combat and contest it. Education *can* be an effective tool for empowerment as Richardson (1995, p55) argues. Education

"... provides a means to command over oneself, by virtue of developing the powers of reason and intellect which are important instruments of self-discipline. It provides a way of knowing, understanding and interpreting the world which extends beyond one's own limited experience. It develops a general capacity to apply reason to solve problems, to communicate, to be self-disciplined in application to the task, and to work cooperatively, which are valuable in all walks of life."

Put differently, the potential for empowerment depends not only on the quantity of education but also on its quality. That is, that potential is dependent upon the nature of education, the curriculum, teaching methods and institutional structures. Many reform initiatives such as the Disadvantaged Schools Program (recently abolished by the Commonwealth), the Country Areas Program, and the work of the National Schools Network (recently deprived of Commonwealth funding) have focused on precisely these factors in order to effect an improvement in educational outcomes.

Many of the efforts that have sought to change conditions in schools so as to enhance and improve the education of the socioeconomically disadvantaged, have recognised the importance and value of the knowledge, culture and resources which students bring with them to school. For such initiatives to be effective it must be acknowledged that "... all families irrespective of their economic wellbeing have powerful knowledge and resources inside them" and this knowledge, when brought to school, should be used as "...launching pads for future learning" (Heckman 1996: p4).

This type of learning should develop students' ability to produce, what is to them, new knowledge rather than memorising facts, definitions and formulas. Students should be encouraged to strive for an in-depth understanding of relevant knowledge and to express their conclusions by various means. The knowledge produced should have meaning or value external to the school in addition to merely certifying the competence of the student. This type of learning is sometimes called 'authentic pedagogy' or 'authentic achievement' (see, for example, Gunn and King 1996).

The recently completed National Project on Middle Schooling, managed by the Australian Curriculum Studies Association, identified principles of middle schooling which show how these ideas can be implemented.

Principles of Middle Schooling

The following principles are the result of wide consultations through ten Australian Middle Schooling Forums and constitute essential components of middle schooling.

Learner centred	Coherent curriculum is focused on the identified needs, interests and concerns of students, and with an emphasis on self directed and co-constructed learning.
Collaboratively organised	Powerful pedagogy is employed by teams of teachers who know and understand their students very well, and who challenge and extend them in supportive environments.
Outcome-based	Progress and achievement are recorded continuously in relation to explicit statements of what each student is expected to know and be able to do.
Flexibly constructed	Arrangements are responsive to local needs and circumstances, and reflect creative uses of time, space and other resources.
Ethically aware	Justice, care, respect and a concern for the needs of others are reflected in everyday practice of students, teachers and administrators.
Community oriented	Parents, together with representatives from a diverse range of groups, institutions and organisations beyond the school are involved in productive partnerships.
Adequately resourced	Experienced teachers and support staff, supported by high quality facilities, technology, equipment and materials, constitute essential requirements.
Strategically linked	A discrete phase of schooling is implemented as a stage within a K-12 continuum and connected to the early and later years.

Barratt, R. (1997) p9.

In a community characterised by poverty, low socioeconomic standing, and a dearth economic resources, children's and young people's learning should focus on the needs of the community in addition to the elements of 'authentic achievement'. The idea is not new. The socially critical school is one which seeks to *improve* (not just critique) society through collective action that confronts injustices and the social structures that support them (Beckett 1997). In this way, the opportunities are provided for students to develop the skills and understandings of active citizens.

School Linked Services

The idea of linking the agencies providing services to children and young people is not new but, after something of a latent period, it is regaining support amongst service providers and policy makers both in Australia and overseas. In particular, the idea of *collaboration*, rather than cooperation or coordination, between schools and agencies is gaining hold. Linking services or collaboration amongst services has been driven by the desire for improved services. For policy makers it brings the prospect of more efficient and effective services. For practitioners it brings the possibility of improving the health and wellbeing of children and young people and hence improving educational outcomes. For children, young people and their families it brings some hope of having to deal with fewer agencies and having their needs met more appropriately. Linking services with schools provides a point of access to children and young people.

The desire to improve services to children and young people often arises in response to a particular issue gaining public attention, such as early school leaving, student homelessness, drug abuse, youth suicide, youth unemployment, or teenage pregnancy (Stokes and Tyler 1997). Alternatively, collaboration between agencies arise because one agency is seen to undo the work of another (Mukherjee *et al* 1997). This is especially true when a number of different agencies are providing services to a child and his or her family. Gardiner (cited in Muirhead 1996) gives the example of Ricardo and his family who are cared for by up to nine different agencies with no single agency taking responsibility for the family or individual as a whole. Hence, collaboration between agencies has the potential to reduce duplication and overlap of service provision. The likelihood of future cost savings may sometimes drive the process for collaboration. This has been referred to as the economic rationalist approach (Stokes and Tyler 1997).

Whatever the motivation for linking services or collaborative action, schools are seen as critical institutions. Attendance at school is compulsory for children and young people aged between six and sixteen years. With the increase in retention in the post compulsory years, the vast majority of children and young people attend school between the ages of five and eighteen. Thus schools provide a 'captive audience' of children and young people as well as their teachers and parents.

Perhaps more significantly, schools provide a site for early intervention. The youth homelessness literature consistently makes the point that young people leave school after they become homeless (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1989, Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1996, and House of Representatives 1995). The school is one of the few institutions with which young people are in contact before they move into chronic homelessness. Health professionals also identify this early intervention role for schools and teachers (Oberklaid 1996).

Many early intervention inter-agency approaches focus on the agencies and the professional people who work in them. The following example illustrates this (cited in Muirhead 1997):

"Caboolture Inter-agency Team"

To foster inter-agency partnerships supporting students at risk through: Identifying possible, appropriate services provided by each agency; Identifying points of commonality and overlap, and shared and separate endeavour; Developing a shared philosophy and approach such as the Wraparound Services model, or a local variant of that; Linking and coordinating activities of the various agencies, as much as is useful and practical; Heightening awareness of available support and/or funding from other agencies; Conducting a planned program to educate the client based (schools and community) to participate in the use of a Wraparound Services approach; and Facilitating the sharing of information via case conferencing between workers from various agencies."

Often children and young people are seen as the subject of treatment or at worst the problem for resolution. In contrast, Stokes and Tyler (1997) have highlighted the need for a clear and consistent social justice agenda in the development of inter-agency collaborative practices. Such an agenda emphasises equity issues, a concern for the holistic needs of young people, and the empowerment of the participants. In particular,

children and young people should be seen as active participants in the decision-making in the establishment and operation of inter-agency collaborative practices.

The involvement of parents and other members of the community, as well as students, teachers and community workers, in a community development strategy may enhance the process. This idea needs to be taken a step further and links made between linking services and learning activities in the school.

Community Development

State, Territory and Commonwealth governments have, over a number of years, provided resources to communities for various activities. Throughout the 'seventies and early 'eighties, in response to community demands, strategies for empowerment were put in place. These strategies were "...about bottom up processes of change and action, about the rights of people to have a say in decisions that affected their lives, about participation, mutual support, collective action, and the demand for resources" (Onyx 1995: p1). While these efforts had their successes, devolving decision making to the community without adequate support is more likely to exacerbate the position of the least well off.

These bottom up strategies were replaced by market driven approaches which first appeared in public policy during the mid to late 'eighties. Efforts to counter the worst of this dry economic agenda and to promote equity were introduced in the form of social justice strategies. These were more top down approaches to social and educational policy.

While community development strategies are not exactly making a resurgence there is increasing recognition that without building connections with the community top down approaches are ineffectual. In addition, bottom up processes work best when facilitated by central or legislative support (Onyx 1995).

There are many examples of central authorities and communities working together in a new bottom up - top down approach. The New South Wales Department of Housing, through its Neighbourhood Improvement Program, is actively seeking to empower its tenants. This Program established Neighbourhood Advisory Boards which brought together tenants and service providers to:

- ♦ Provide tenants with a forum to raise wide ranging problems with a number of agencies, not just the Department of Housing;
- ♦ provide a forum for community decision making on priorities for change and improvement strategies;
- ♦ provide a vehicle for disseminating information;
- ♦ provide an opportunity for skilling tenants for active participation; and
- ♦ establish collaborative problem solving.

(Westacott 1996)

The empowerment of tenants has led to a significant change in priorities for the Department; however, this has not actually increased costs substantially. In fact the Department's suggestion of replacing high rise buildings with medium density housing at an estimated cost of \$250 million was rejected by tenants. Their priorities were simple repairs and better assistance to those who needed it - a far more cost effective suggestion.

Many community development projects have not involved schools. Given that education should be about developing the skills and knowledge of citizens and hence an empowering process, the omission of schools is significant. Of course many schools need to change the curriculum, the teaching and learning strategies in the manner described above if they are to become active institutions in the community.

The full service school itself can be considered a community development strategy as it seeks to empower students, their parents, and other community members to take action to improve their lives and communities. Parental participation in schools is essential. This, in turn, can provide an opportunity for school curricula to focus on community concerns and other issues that affect the students' real world.

The following example, from Heckman and Peacock (1995: p50), of elementary school students from Arizona who became involved in developing an after-school program, is illustrative:

"A group of interested students became 'program planners', as they figured out how to create an after-school program that met the interests of all the students.

These students decided to conduct a survey to gain input from all students about the types of activities they would want in an after-school program. As 'social scientists', the students struggled with questions of how to gather information that truly represents the public opinion. They thought about how they would gather information from children who did not read. They debated the pros and cons of different styles of questions. They discussed the type of information they wanted to gather. They wrote, read, and edited a variety of questions, translating them into Spanish and English. The survey form went through several revisions.

The final survey form included questions about the responding student's age, sex, how the child gets to school, hobbies, whether parents work outside the home, preference for when the program should end each day, and whether the child would attend the program. The survey also included a list of forty-seven possible after-school activities that students had brainstormed. Each respondent was asked to select his or her ten favourite activities.

Teams of student surveyors went to every classroom in the school to gather their data, administering the survey orally to children who could not read. After they collected all their information, they returned to the classroom and faced the next question: How do we analyse the data?

The teacher worked with the students in developing a computer database for the survey information. The children learned how to input the data. As 'mathematicians' and 'statisticians', they looked at frequencies, averages, and percentages. They discussed what the statistics meant. They wrote up a report of their findings.

The students then revised their survey form and administered it to parents. They were interested in seeing if parents and children had similar views about the types of activities that should be provided in an after-school program. They compared results and found many similarities. They discovered that the program should include music, drama, sports, science, computers and art.

Several of the students presented their findings at a meeting of the coalition. They answered the questions of teachers, parents, and community leaders. The parents, who were writing a grant proposal for a summer school and afterschool program, incorporated the student findings in the proposal. The children knew that they had made an important contribution to the design of the program and felt great ownership when the program was finally funded and implemented the following summer and school year. In addition, they further benefited by participation in the activities that they themselves had planned for the extended-day program and summer school."

In this example, educational benefits derived from the identification of a common issue which brought people together to take action. Teaching and learning practices were changed to facilitate this action. The parents and children saw themselves as making a difference in their community, reinforcing the belief that an education can have positive consequences. These consequences were more than future social and economic advancement of the students but included the community's empowerment that led to the enhancement of that community.

Making it Work

The idea of full service schools promoted by the ACEE encompasses three significant reform movements - school reform, school linked services, and community development. While each part can occur separately, as at present, we believe that by bringing them together the total becomes greater than the sum of the parts. Working collaboratively with students, parents, teachers and a range of service providers around issues important to the community has the potential to yield benefits greater than current service provision delineated along traditional lines.

There are many constraints, some of which can be overcome by goodwill but others require flexibility from government authorities. One of the biggest relates to the lack of funding of many schools, health and community agencies. Where funding is tight or short-term, schools and agencies often retreat into their 'core business'. Competitive pressures amongst schools, curriculum pressures, bureaucratic arrangements between government departments, and policy and program requirements are all constraining.

Surmounting these constraints may seem overwhelming for schools and their communities. Progress may be gradual. It is important to take steps and to reflect on where these are heading in a continuous cycle of improvement.

It is just this approach that the ACEE has adopted for working with five schools and communities in four states. In a project funded by the Australian Youth Foundation, the ACEE is working with schools and communities to develop five different pilot projects, in urban and rural areas that will create opportunities for young people to have access to a greater range of resources at school. These pilot projects aim to:

- ◆ Impact upon the organisation and curriculum of the schools involved.
- ◆ Consult extensively with young people in each of the schools. Each Pilot will attempt to incorporate needs of young people who will participate in the project.
- ◆ Liaise with community representatives and utilise community facilities to forge a link between schools and their broader community.

Each pilot project will continuously evaluate and reflect on the project as it proceeds with the assistance of an external evaluation consultant and the ACEE. A reporting and evaluation framework is being developed to enable the participants to maintain an ongoing record of the development of their project as well as providing for an evaluation of the whole project.

In undertaking these projects we hope to be able to engage with students, parents, teachers, principals, health professionals, community workers, and policy makers to take some initial steps towards full service schools. In taking these steps we will gather information about the key features of each project particularly those that will underpin the transfer of the approach to other sites. The information gathered will be used to influence policies at a state and national level as well as to assist schools and communities to develop their own strategies leading towards full service schools.

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Full Service Schooling for Full Citizenship: From Theory to Practice

Robert Semmens & Helen Stokes

This article attempts to explain how a recent development in health and welfare service provision can be introduced in ways which increase the potential for students to become active and independent citizens through participation in health and welfare programs. The perceived problem addressed is the potential for welfare clients to become dependent on the welfare system unless there is a clear commitment to an educational model.

The term 'full-service' is used in the United States to refer to schools or school districts which have access to a full range of education, health and welfare services (Dryfoos 1994). 'Full-service' may vary according to the services available in each district and the needs of the students in each district. However, common elements which are consistent with the theoretical model developed, include: a commitment to better learning outcomes for all students; strengthening links between home, school and community; democratic school governance that includes parents, students and teachers; community participation and ownership of the program; co-ordination between providers and agencies; involvement of local government, local employers, local health and welfare services etc; involvement of various community groups such as service clubs, retired people, unemployed people; in-service for teachers, parents and community workers; training of parent and student advocates; and, inclusion of other social justice initiatives such as legal advice and delinquency prevention (ACEE 1996).

The idea of full-service schooling appears to have gained momentum as one response to the fragmentation of some communities for various reasons, including the pace of technological change and high levels of unemployment, and the attendant problems of youth alienation (Schweitzer & Geyer 1989). Coordination and integration of health and welfare service provision may assist in prevention and/or reduction of current problems facing many young people and their schooling, problems such as homelessness, drugs, violence, self-esteem, apathy, and emotional disturbance. Schools or school districts have come to be the sites of integrated service ('full-service') provision because all young people must attend school for ten years and because schools are usually conveniently located for community access. In some schools there is too much work for welfare coordinators and, in any case, the idea of speedy and coordinated access to a range of professional advice and additional resources, is very attractive in the short term and potentially a cohesive element in long term community development.

This paper addresses the issue of how integration of services for intervention in the lives of young people may contribute to a more positive sense of community membership in the longer term. The model developed here contains strategies aimed at enabling young people and their families to move from being passive recipients of services to creators of a community defined in much more positive terms than the problematic ones that led to the original full-service intervention.

Theory

In the past, amongst human service professionals, there seems to have been a divide between those who deal with individuals and their problems - the clinicians - and those who believe in prevention through structural change - the community developers or social reformers. This article argues for a synthesis.

Briefly, a clinical service delivery system is defined as one which relies more on someone in authority to arrange for a problem to be diagnosed and treated, and for the client's functioning to be at least observably improved in the diagnosed problem area. A possible weakness in this approach is that, while there may be improvement in that area, the client's overall functioning is not necessarily strengthened and s/he may remain dependent upon health and welfare services with the additional burden of a negative socially ascribed label such as 'misfit', or 'disturbed'. On the other hand, a community development service delivery system is defined as one which encourages the client to take responsibility for identifying personal care needs, with a view to developing greater understanding of how the service system works in our society and eventual perception of self as a contributor to that system, or even an active change agent of the system. This educative goal of community development works in much the same way as in the teaching of literacy with a view to children increasing their competence in reading and writing to the point where they can choose to contribute to the culture through critical analysis, and possibly ultimately creating their own publishable prose, poetry or plays. While this is the preferred or primary model adopted here, possible weaknesses of this model are acknowledged, especially that it is obviously more readily applied to older students; some of its more energetic proponents may impose participation on students rather than open up options for student participation; and, in crisis situations, someone with specialist expertise must step in and take responsibility for the client in the short term. Connecting this intervention with the rest of the client's life may be left to other services, groups and individuals. Connection or re-connection may be achieved through integration of service provision to schools, but the model proposed in this article, seeks to connect those services to the mainstream educational effort of the school.

The following presentation of theory begins with the most desirable end-point, that is, full citizenship status for all in a democratic society. Then, means for making this end possible, are discussed. To start from a vision of what sort of society we want to be, the model developed here is based on democratic education theory. Democratic education theory is presented as a framework and guidelines for independent participation in Australian society. According to Dewey, democracy is taught through interactive learning experiences, and the school has a key role in teaching democratic goals and processes through involving students in school governance, curriculum development and inclusive teaching strategies (Dewey 1916). Dewey recommended that the entire school be organised as a miniature community so that all students could belong, and participate in, the development of the school system and, through experience, gradually learn how to apply scientific method to improve society. Thelen (1960) took up Dewey's emphasis on the relationship between present learning experiences at school and their application to the community living situation of students now as well as in the future. Thelen starts from a view of the person as primarily a social being whose autonomy cannot be maintained without reference to other people. The implication of this view of the person for schooling is that teaching strategies emphasise social processes as well as academic inquiry. Debates, role plays, simulations and logical analysis of data are used in the process of solving real problems in classroom, laboratory and community.

White (1982) adds another dimension to the 'learning through social interaction' model when he defines education as 'up-bringing'. White envisages school curriculum as part of each child's education, especially where it plays a formative role in connecting students with a range of social, economic, cultural and political arenas. Experiential learning in each of these arenas at school with significant others such as teachers and peers, facilitates understanding, and where necessary, reconciliation between personal and societal aims. Personal aims relate to understanding personal temperament, desires, interests and abilities, while societal aims are currently driven by the need for economic development of the nation, expressed principally in the area of vocational opportunities. Nevertheless, schools have a responsibility to develop student understanding of the various societal arenas so that students can choose to participate in setting the direction of change in their society.

From the perspective of one stream of social theory, that is, social bond theory, it is possible to develop the societal aspect of schooling. While democratic education emphasises the cognitive role of schooling in preparing students for making a contribution to their society, social bond theory emphasises the affective component of belonging (Hirschi 1969, Elliott et al 1979). Social bond theory claims a basic human need to belong to conventional social institutions such as family, school, peers, work groups, church etc.. Alienation from conventional social groups, or attenuation of ties, leads to a reduced stake in society and possibly to anti-social behaviour. The implication of social bond theory for schooling is that the opportunity for participation in decision-making afforded by 'democratic' schools, is unlikely to be taken up quickly by students who feel alienated from schooling, and that any intervention in the lives of such students should therefore initially aim to increase their chances for strengthening ties to the school, rather than re-inforcing their status as misfits. For example, increased bonding to school should be reflected in the inclusiveness of the school organisation, the quality of classroom climate and improved attendance and participation rates at school. Such a learning environment would strengthen self identity and sense of belonging, usefulness and competence at school (Slee 1995, Pearl & Knight 1997.). In a school where students have valued membership, the concept of 'full-service' would also be open for student discussion and involvement in decision-making about the type of services and manner of delivery. Implementation of 'full-service' schooling would be part of student practice for full citizenship in the wider community, now, and in the future as adults.

Synthesis.

The above brief outline of preferred theoretical basis for 'full-service' schooling sets the direction for the following proposal. The relevance of informing theory to what becomes defined as a problem, how it is defined, strategies for action, the related service delivery system and criteria for evaluation, is set out in Diagram 1 and applied to a community development model. In Diagram 2 an individual intervention model is set out for comparison. Diagram 3 presents a synthesis of Diagrams 1 and 2. In each diagram it is claimed that theory provides the framework for action and the terms of reference for evaluation, which, in turn, forms a feedback loop to the preferred theory.

Diagram 1

Community Development Model

Preferred Theory	Democratic Education Theory.
Problem Definition	Student alienation from school
Change Strategy	Including all students in decisions about themselves.
Delivery System	Inclusive curriculum, classroom climate, and school organisation.
Criteria for Evaluation	Increased attendance, participation and retention rates. Community connection.

Diagram 2

Individual Intervention Model

Preferred Theory	Clinical theory (biological, behavioural, psychological)
Problem Definition	Individual assessment of special needs - education, disability, health, personality, behaviour.
Change Strategy	Remedial, compensatory or other individually tailored program.
Delivery System	Specialists in mainstream schools or segregated settings.
Criteria for Evaluation	Improved functioning/ performance in problem area.

Diagram 3 synthesises Diagrams 1 and 2. It states the problem definition in greater detail than Diagram 1 to emphasise that the community development orientation of democratic education theory is retained in the synthesis. Diagram 3 also enlarges a little on the inclusive emphasis of change strategies and delivery system in a community development model, and allows for specialist intervention as part of the school organisation rather than as a remedial appendage to what may have been seen as the traditional territory of the school. The criteria for evaluation also take into account the contribution of other professionals and agencies.

Diagram 3

Synthesis of Diagrams 1 and 2

Preferred Theory	Democratic Education Theory
Problem Definition	How to engage all students in schooling as 'full' citizens
Change Strategy	Including all students in all decisions about themselves informing, explaining, consulting, allocating increasing responsibility for personal care, rewarding cooperative initiatives in problem-solving.
Delivery System	Inclusive community-oriented and participatory curriculum, classroom climate, school organisation and school-community interaction, (including negotiated and integrated services).
Criteria for Evaluation	Improved functioning/ performance in individual and group problem areas; increased attendance, participation and retention rates; connection between individuals and schools and the whole range of community agencies and social institutions.

In proposing a synthesis of the two models presented in Diagrams 1 and 2, the individual intervention model is retained as its strategies are necessary for crisis situations and for case management. However, the synthesis also intends to make clear that the individual intervention model in its entirety does not characterise the aims and purposes of the school as an educational institution. The individual intervention model is probably more consistent with the aims and purposes of hospitals than schools. Integration of some of the individual intervention strategies into the operation of an educational institution may require some adaptation so that they are neither seen, nor practised, as marginal to the main aims and purposes of the school. For example, creation of a special classroom for students with hearing loss would be a marginalising experience for identified students, possibly increasing their sense of being different from, or less worthy than, other students. For those students, deemed to be in need of short-term special treatment outside the normal classroom, there needs to be formal and informal pathways and processes back into mainstream of school life, so that individual students, labelled as different and in need of the benefits of special additional, but marginal attention, do not come to characterise a school, thus diverting public gaze away from its major purpose, which is education.

The danger in this possibility for 'full-service' schooling is that participating schools will be seen as 'at risk' schools, thus further alienating their students, no matter how good the quality of diagnosis and treatment of particular problems. The difference between patients whose health is restored by medical intervention in hospital and then returned to the community to get on with their lives, and students at school, is that students are at school for a long time and the school is a major socialising agency for them. The roles they are allocated at school have lasting influence not only on their performance at school but also on their post-school opportunities (Polk & Tait 1990, Holden & Dwyer 1992, Dwyer et al 1997).

The key difference in student outcomes is where each strategy is coming from and where each plans to go. In a community development model, when a teacher or other professional diagnoses an individual problem, s/he wants to know how the remediation can minimise risk of labelling and further alienation from school, and preferably, how the program can be designed to maximise the opportunities for the student to participate more fully in the life of the school community. In an individual intervention model, the teacher or other professional would be more likely to treat a presenting problem and then possibly recommend that the school administration attend to contextual issues such as classroom climate.

A community development model is preferred in this paper as the primary model for education practice

because of its capacity to integrate all interpersonal interactions into a comprehensive understanding of what the individual might be learning in the total dynamic of the school community. Individual intervention without reference to education theory has potential for partialising the educational experience of the individual, and therefore not understanding that the sum of the parts does not necessarily equal the whole learning experience. In order to minimise the potential negative personal and social side effects of diagnosis and treatment in each such case, it is recommended that individual intervention be consistent with the problem definition, change strategy, service delivery and program evaluation of the community development model. In other words, in school curriculum and processes, we are working at not excluding any options for any student's present or future participation as a full status citizen in the school community and the wider community.

Such a position of commitment to community development will cause us to question the use of terms like 'at risk' student because of the implication that students in this category are less than full status, and may become the target of special programs that do not necessarily lead to valued places in the community. 'At risk' programs that have short-term, possibly pragmatic, goals, need to be re-cast so that they can demonstrate medium and longer term goals of full and equal citizen participation in the life of the community.

Similarly, another term used in relation to 'at risk' students, is 'resilience,' suggesting a capacity to bounce back from adversity. The problem with this concept is that those who do not, can not, or will not bounce back, may be seen as students for whom everything has been tried and who have failed to respond. Therefore, it is their own fault that they become second class citizens. Teachers are then free to allocate a poor reputation to non-resilient students and withdraw encouragement or transfer their limited reserves of energy to more deserving students. The consequences of such action are well-documented (Polk & Schafer 1972, Pink 1982, Knight 1985)

Some Examples of Recent Projects

Four recent Australian attempts at establishing full-service projects are outlined below. The projects are presented in a continuum from the project which is least like the 'full-citizen' model advocated in this chapter through to the project which comes closest to the 'full-citizen' model. Each is a real project although actual school names have been changed to preserve confidentiality. More detailed accounts of the projects can be obtained from the recent audit of *Health Service - School Links in Australia* (Mukherjee et al 1997).

Project One

The Outdoor Activity project for 'at risk' young people in Westland, Victoria, was developed by a number of different agencies, including the school, social workers, the community health centre, the accommodation centre and the council youth worker. They have collaborated to provide a program that withdraws 'at risk' young people (14-16) from the classroom to participate in a challenging outdoor program (a 4-5 day camp) and 6 - 10 follow-up workshop sessions addressing issues such as self esteem and conflict resolution with an aim to improve the students resilience, school retention, life skills and health.

There have been many benefits from the agencies working together with time being taken to overcome differences in ways of working, language and protocols and to then develop shared planning protocols. For the school the benefits have included resources for, and a time investment in, the students beyond the scope of the teachers alone. There has been increased access for the young people using the health services and improved awareness of the community agencies among the school community.

Since government funding ceased at the end of 1996, the project has continued with private sponsorship, and input from the school and the agencies involved. Although there has been much time and energy spent by the participating agencies in developing links, it has become very difficult to sustain due to the pressures of the agencies' other work, and without systemic funding support for coordination to continue the development of links between the agencies and the school.

Another problem with this particular project is that it only focuses on students 'at risk'. It is necessary to look at how the project addresses the implications of being labelled 'at risk' and being withdrawn from

school and whether the program leads to the students having a valued role in the community. To achieve this goal, longer-term funding security is required. The raising of funds may itself be a cohesing community activity provided that all participants are aware of this expectation from the start and evolving inter-agency cooperation is not terminated by the sudden loss of an external funding source.

Project Two

At Northern Secondary College in Victoria, there has been an emphasis on how to engage a group of year 9 and 10 female students as 'full' citizens, including them in decisions about themselves, with a community-based response to problem-solving. The students perceived a lack of information and support for young peoples' health issues from the local health agencies. In response to this, the students formed the Young Women's Project and developed a poster resource with assistance from the school and Northern Women's Health Service. The resource is entitled: *This Is Where It's At*, and will be promoted and used throughout Victorian schools with support from the health service which will facilitate workshops for students to use the resource.

The development of the poster resource has and will continue to provide benefits at a number of levels:

- ♦ for those students directly involved;
- ♦ for the community organisations involved who have found their links with the school enhanced;
- ♦ for other young people, who by using the resource have an opportunity to talk with their own local health agencies and decide on the information that they want to display on the poster; and,
- ♦ for links between the schools and the community to be initiated by young people.

Although there has been a role for students in decision-making about health issues, this has been done through the development of a project, not through change in the structure for ongoing decision-making throughout the school for all students. It was also noted by the outside agencies involved with the project that teachers may lack time to integrate this project across the curriculum and that agencies may lack the time, due to the crisis nature of much of their work, to be able to respond to the need of the school community to continue the ongoing nature of the school's links to the outside community. As with most projects there is reliance upon the enthusiasm of the people involved and to the funding cycle, which means that, while there may be a role for students making decisions while the project is operating, there is also the danger that once funding ceases the lack of change in overall decision-making in the school structure will result in the disappearance of a role for the students in decision-making.

Project Three

In this Victorian project there is observable change in the school, including student involvement in the decision-making structures of the school. The Eastern Community Health Centre and Eastern Secondary College are developing a five year project, looking at structural, community and curriculum issues related to self-esteem, and resiliency development with students, teachers and families. As the project is still in a developmental stage, it involves inter-agency meetings between teachers, parents, school council, community health and students to develop a response to issues and to link with the school council structure.

The aim of the project is for a reorientation of school structure and culture to increase the opportunities for young people to have input into their school direction and community decision-making. At this stage this is being implemented through a change in the home group structure as well as the development of orientation programs for new staff.

While the project has positive outcomes for both the school and the community health service through the development of closer links between teachers and health workers, providing improved referral for students and families, there have been a number of issues that have needed to be worked through for the school and

the community health centre to work together in a positive way. These issues include:

- ♦ the lack of adequate and flexible funding for project development on the school site has meant that the school and the health centre have had to find funds from already stretched budgets;
- ♦ the differences in approach to welfare, health and discipline issues; and
- ♦ the temptation to look for a quick-fix to problems rather than the understanding of the need for long term structural change.

It is possible that professional development on interdisciplinary teamwork will resolve this problem and also the issue of differences in professional approaches between health, welfare and education staff. At this stage the outcomes are related to the changes through the health centre and the school working together rather than the changes to the participation of the students. However, as this program is long-term and still being established, there is still time for student participation to evolve.

The initiation of similar projects may be assisted by the introduction of interdisciplinary teamwork into human service training courses at university, involving teachers, psychologists, social workers, health workers, and youth workers. These professionals-in-training could then develop shared understandings about the nature of different fields of work in the human service professions.

Project Four

This project provides an example of how to engage students in schooling as 'full' citizens. At Southern Primary School in South Australia, a Student Health Committee has been set up as a result of collaboration between the school and the local Community Health Services. The Student Health Committee provides an example of an ongoing change to school structure which allows all students to identify health issues through their health committee representatives. The Student Health Committee meets with health service staff and the school counsellor during class time to discuss and implement strategies to address these issues.

Some issues identified by the students have been graffiti and vandalism in the school, traffic problems near the school and bullying in the schoolyard. One strategy for addressing the issues has been the encouragement for the Committee members to make links with other agencies including the Police, other schools, and school parent groups. For example, contact was made with the local police to report on traffic speeding through the school crossing. Another has been to discuss with the Student Representative Council ways of addressing graffiti and vandalism in the school.

The Student Health Committee members have also become health educators with the support of health service staff. During school assemblies, Committee members may make small presentations to other students which may take the form of demonstrations such as the preparation of healthy snacks or correct tooth brushing techniques.

As a result of involving the students in decision-making there has been success in promoting health issues in the school as well as the raising of the self-esteem of the participants. Other students take an interest in the activities of the Health Committee and parents and school staff have commented on the positive changes in behaviour of individual students. The support of teachers, school and agency staff has been a vital factor in the success and ongoing nature of the project.

Implementing a Community Development Model: Lessons from Theory and Practice

To establish a full-service school using a community development model, all affected parties - parents, teachers, students and service providers - would be involved. The concept of 'full-service' would be clearly and simply defined. It would be helpful to separate the 'student as patient' (individual intervention) concept of service provision from the 'student as citizen' (community development) concept and then show how the first can contribute to the second.

The separation can be facilitated by imagining the 'student as patient' as a short-term remedial situation, whereas the 'student as citizen' concept can be imagined as a framework for long-term student development, that is, education and problem prevention as well as short-term remediation. The short-term notion of 'student as patient' focuses on presenting personal problems of students that schools with augmented health and welfare capacity can reasonably be expected to address. Under the heading of presenting problems there may be listed: counselling on a range of youth issues such as study techniques, drugs, sex, personal stress, nutrition, financial advice, emergency accommodation, course and employment advice etc., dental treatment, health checks, and identification of specialist community resources. However, it is limited to individual situations and cannot be expected to stretch to a model for remedying social ills. Schools which rely on, and possibly accumulate short-term individual programs, could run the risk of themselves becoming perceived as 'hospital' or 'welfare' schools and therefore unattractive to academically-oriented students. To complement individual intervention there needs to be school policies and practices which encourage student involvement in problem definition program content and action for solution, and on negotiating how the program connects with other aspects of the student's curriculum, and the overall educational aims of the school.

In advocating for schools to take a longer-term view of the 'student as citizen' it is not expected that schools would be the change agents for underlying social problems of youth such as unemployment, poverty, fragmentation of families and youth alienation from social agencies other than the school. However, what 'full-service' schools can do in relation to these underlying social problems is to go about their individual interventions in ways that facilitate group involvement in cooperative school-community ventures that provide ways for all young people to develop a sense of belonging and usefulness, that is, citizenship, in the school and wider community.

To encourage school communities to think creatively about long-term youth citizenship aims, the following strategy, or similar, could be implemented. The Department of Education could calculate how much Commonwealth and State money is currently provided to each school for student support services. Schools would then be paid a proportion, say 50%, of their annual support service money immediately with a guarantee of the remaining money upon receipt of a detailed three year plan for increasing student participation and retention, by say five per cent, over the next three years. Additional money from a special one-off fund would be available for project proposals which involve integration of services from other Government departments and local agencies which would be specified, such as Human Services, Youth Affairs, Sport and Recreation. Conditions for proposal development could also be specified, including that the school community be involved in developing the proposal, that local health and welfare representatives be consulted and possibly co-opted to the school council, and that on-going evaluation of the project's implementation form the basis for the next three-year plan.

It is envisaged that the first three-year plan would make the transition from the current arrangements for service provision to a school-based full-service model that not only caters for crisis management but starts to involve the community, including students, in the definition of support needs and the best ways of meeting those needs. The process would apply to all schools, not just those which appear to be the most problematic, because youth involvement in decisions that affect them is essential preparation for active or full citizenship in our democratic society. Alongside the project, staff development would focus on inclusive teaching strategies and inclusive school management styles. The recommendations of the recent study called: *From Alienation to Engagement*, and the work of Roger Holdsworth on student participation provide useful resource data for such professional development (ACSA 1996, Holdsworth 1996).

In support of such developments in schools, teacher training courses could consider the implications of full-service for full-citizenship. Can we train teachers in project teams rather than individually? Can we have stronger partnerships between universities and schools in the training of teachers? How can teacher training support the classroom effort to include and encourage all students to engage with schooling?

The second three-year plan would build on the basis of community involvement established in the first phase, and pursue the goal of full-citizenship more comprehensively. The work of Connell (1994) on poverty and education, and of Pearl and Knight (forthcoming) on the development of student belonging, competence, and usefulness, provide some clear guidelines for moving closer to the full citizenship goal for all students. For example, Connell's (1993) insistence that the cycle of poverty can be broken by students gaining economic and political understanding through their experience of schooling, and Pearl's (1972) notion of students practising citizenship rather than for ever preparing for citizenship, need to be debated by school communities as part of the restructuring of schooling and school governance that goes with the development of full-service schools.

Holdsworth's (1996) work suggests that indicators of progress towards the full-citizenship goal at school can be categorised on a minimalist to maximalist scale. At the minimalist end is induction into basic knowledge about civil and legal status, rights and responsibilities for citizens, and political involvement through voting for representatives. At the maximalist end, and consistent with the concept of full-citizenship proposed here, is schooling which develops critical and reflective capacities for self-determination and autonomy. The maximalist approach would define school curriculum as everything that a child learns from his/her interaction with formal and informal teaching at school. This includes how the school is organised and the extent to which student life experience and knowledge are valued by the school, the valuing of difference in classrooms and in the decision-making processes of the school. Knight and Semmens (1992) have reported on a project that established a code of conduct based on democratic education theory. Knight (1993) has also detailed how curriculum content can link the study and practice of democratic education.

The community development model advocated in this article has a long history in education. The individual intervention model also has a long history in education. The two have often been applied together in a confused way in the past. An example of this confusion has been in the area of students with disability where individual intervention has led to segregation of students either within the mainstream or in separate schools. Ultimately, segregation came to be seen as against the best long-term interests of some students and the human rights movement became a vehicle for integration of students with disabilities. While democratic education theory was implicit in this drive for normalisation of schooling for students with disabilities, it was rarely made explicit (Booth & Swann 1987, Fulcher 1989).

With the introduction of full service schooling it is possible to avoid some of the problems of the past which have led to the labelling and segregation of some students and lowered educational expectations of some schools. Full-service schooling can support the education of all students so long as the educators and service providers are clear on the differences between the origins and destinations of the two competing models for delivery. It is hoped that by demonstrating how the two models can work together, this article contributes to the smooth implementation full-service schooling and that full-service schooling enhances the role of schools as agencies of citizenship.

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